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BOOK REVIEWS

Diplomacy Old and New. By GEORGE YOUNG. London, Swarthmore Press; New York, Harcourt Brace and Howe, 1921, 105 pp.

This brochure is one of the series of handbooks on international relations edited by G. Lowes Dickinson. Their purpose is to develop the "international mind" by disseminating facts. Their appearance is most opportune at a time when the world's nerves are distraught from overdoses of propagandism and when there is a widespread demand for relief from the "fact famine." The improvement of the world cannot come from the governing classes alone but must grow out of an informed, forward-looking public opinion.

Mr. Young is exceptionally well qualified for his task. He has had twenty years (1895-1915) of service in the old type of diplomacy. Its secrecy, backstairs methods, oily tongues, vinegar faces, Janus psychology, and devious paths are all known to him. At the same time he sees clearly that the new diplomacy with its short cuts, its honesty, and its reflection of the will of the people is coming in. He has no hesitancy in saying that the revolutions in Russia and Germany indicate the appearance of a new spirit of open diplomacy.

This little volume, in a sense, is an "exposure." The author was "exasperated by the failures" of British diplomacy "in peace and war owing to the repeated breach of first principles of foreign policy and diplomatic procedure." Hence he attempts to point out the evils of the old system in Great Britain and to indicate the reforms which he believes to be realizable. The treatise is divided into three chapters each of which opens with an examination of the evils and ends with practical suggestions for improvement.

The first chapter deals with "Diplomacy and Personnel." In England, the writer says, the people have no confidence in diplomatic efficiency; and diplomats have no confidence in the people's power to aid them. The solution of this unfortunate situation would be to get the right men to represent the nation in foreign relations at home and abroad. At present there is little connection between public opinion and public policy in foreign affairs.

Great Britain is democratic at home but aristocratic in dealing with other peoples. The diplomatic service is a bureaucracy. Apparently the people would rather be led in its foreign dealings by a "gentleman" than by a genius from the ranks. The undemocratic British Foreign Office has complete control over foreign affairs, hence the diplomatic service tends to run to "seed and suckers." The Foreign Secretary is the "president of sort of a private cabinet." His power is patronage. Appointments to diplomatic service are largely at his pleasure, and his nominees are mere mouthpieces. Any independence means dismissal. Men with "neat boots" are in high favor. Since 1907 about 90 per cent of the appointees were graduates of aristocratic private schools—76 per cent came from Eton alone. Roman Catholics with foreign family connections were given a preference. Youngsters in the diplomatic service have almost a feudal relationship to their chiefs, who recruited their staffs very much as colonial governors did.

Notable British diplomatic successes of our day have been won by men who came in at the top like Lord Bryce, Lord Cromer, and Lord Dufferin. Efforts to reform the system of appointments culminated in the report of the Royal Commission, published shortly after the outbreak of the World War, which recommended: (1) the union of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service; (2) the widening of the basis of the selection of candidates; (3) the increase in pay and assurance of promotion, and (4) increase in efficiency. In part these reforms have been put into operation. The private income of \$2000 required of candidates has been abolished. A new scale of salaries has been adopted. In addition to the other recommendations, Mr. Young urges the creation of schools where men may be educated by special training for service in the Orient, the Levant, the Slavic states, Teuto-Scandinavia, and the Romance regions.

The second chapter discusses the control of foreign policy. British foreign policy is autocratic and not democratic. The attitude of Parliament towards foreign affairs is likened unto that of the Roman Senate towards an augur, who argued peace or war from the color of a chicken's liver. The Japanese Alliance, the Entente with France and Russia, and the peace treaties growing out of the World War were all accomplished facts before Parliament knew anything about them. Hence in foreign affairs Parliament "reigns but does not govern." The author urges the amendment of the constitution to reserve to Parliament the

right to revise old treaties and to ratify new ones through a committee on foreign affairs, as in France and the United States. Indeed he urges that the self-governing colonies should either be associated with this committee, or have similar committees of their own. This would operate to establish "open diplomacy" on a democratic basis.

The last chapter deals with "Diplomacy and Peace." The author thinks that it would take a Rabelais to describe "the flea-like skippings" of Lloyd George; the efforts of Wilson to make "great things out of empty words;" the dagger thrusts of Clemenceau; and the opportunism of Orlando, in the Paris Peace Conference. He sees British diplomacy at its worst in that treaty, which would make a Machiavelli "groan" and a Metternich "grin." All the blunders are attributed to the methods of diplomacy. Had peoples carried on the negotiations the mistakes might have been avoided. The League of Nations "with a diplomatic foundation and a democratic façade" would have been a different product. Democratic diplomacy alone can exploit the moral forces of the new age. Diplomacy is neither bribery, nor bullying, nor even "bamboozling," but simple, up-to-date business methods applied to politics. It is "the art of peace-making and the science of peaceful relations." Hence the author believes that it is the duty of the British universities to produce adequately trained men for diplomatic service.

This little book does three things: (1) it gives a clear picture of the methods and defects of British diplomacy; (2) it sets forth practical reforms, and (3) it outlines the new diplomacy that must come in. The style is keen and interesting, and the discussion is illuminating and informing.

A. C. FLICK,
Syracuse University.

An Introduction to the Problem of Government. By W. W. WILLOUGHBY, AND LINDSAY ROGERS. Garden City, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921, x, 545 pp.

These authors have succeeded admirably in their purpose, to furnish an adequate outline for a course in Constitutional Government, and have given, in the abundant references to the best and newest literature on the various topics, ample aid to the student in filling out this skeleton or framework. The footnotes give many well selected and valuable quotations and the appendices include the Overman Act of 1918 authorizing the President to reorganize